

**TA 4602-PAK:  
Institutional Strengthening of NCSW –  
Support to Implementation of GRAPs**

Gender Review of Political Framework for  
Women Political Participation

May 03, 2010



**National Commission on the Status of Women**



## **FOREWORD**

The National Commission on the Status of Women is a statutory body promulgated through NCSW Ordinance 2000 mandated to serve as a watchdog and oversight body with national authority to review policies, unjust practices and laws affecting women of Pakistan vis a vis international commitments to gender equality and equity and formulate policy recommendations as well as to advocate for changes in laws and policies that are not pro-women. It is authorized to make recommendations to amend, abolish or repeal such laws, policies and customary practices which undermine and deny the fundamental rights and dignified status to women and minorities in Pakistan.

Women's political participation is compulsory for the development and progress of Pakistan because women constitute almost half of the population. Despite their huge share in the population, the women of Pakistan have been discriminated both economically and politically and even in some parts of the country, they are not even registered as voters. The patriarchal and male dominating society of Pakistan is providing more economic and political power to men in all the spheres of public and private life. The power and economic resources are mainly controlled and owned by men members of the society. The position of women in this regard is secondary and they could not have any say in the economic and political affairs because they are not included in the decision making processes. Owing to this complex structure of society, women in Pakistan could not have easy access to take part in the political activities and to poll even their votes. They are barred from taking an active part in politics in parallel to men, and if they do on ad hoc basis, they are never made part of the legislative and decision making bodies.

Keeping in view the bearers to women's political participation, the NCSW conducted an extensive review of Political Framework for Women Political Participation with the objective to assess the situation of women's participation in mainstream politics, their role as decision maker's therein as voters or as candidates. The research attempted to uncover the gaps in the Election Laws-General Election 2007-2008 and projects for women political empowerment run by the Ministry of Women's Development (MoWD) and GRAP.

The NCSW recommendations are the outcome of thorough study and an extensive feedback received from the leadership of all political parties, civil society activists, political workers and international donor agencies those especially focusing on women's empowerment. The Commission strongly feels that it is important to bring reforms in electoral process and the methodology to elect women representatives should also be made more direct. The political parties are also required to bring women politicians in their ranks vertically and horizontally.

It is hoped that the recommendations made in this research will be helpful to be used to design suitable strategies and interventions for improving women's political participation in the country thus enabling them to play an active parts in the politics.

The NCSW also acknowledges the contributions made by ADB by financing these researches on very important topics. Ms. Rukhshanda Naz has carried out this gender review with utmost dedication and keen interest. The commission appreciates her efforts as well.

Anis Haroon  
Chairperson

## ACRONYMS

AF	Aurat Foundation
ANP	Awami National Party
BD	Basic Democrats
CEC	Central Executive Committee
DSP	Decentralization Support Programme
DRC	District Resource Centre
EC	Election Commission
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Area
GAD	Gender & Development
GRAP	Gender Reform Action Plan
JUI	Jamiat Ulma-e-Islam
LFO	Local Framework Order
LGO	Local Government Ordinance
LG&RD	Local Government and Rural Development
MMA	Motahida Majlis-e-Amal
MNA	Member National Assembly
MPA	Member of Provincial Assembly
MQM	Muthada Qaumi Movement
MoWD	Ministry of Women Development
MoLJ&HR	Ministry of Law, Justice and Human Rights
NRB	National Reconstruction Bureau
NADRA	National Database and Registration Authority
NCSW	National Commission on the Status of Women
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NIC	National Identity Card
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
TA/DA	Travelling Allowance/Daily Allowance
USAID	United State Agency for International Development
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
WID	Women in Development
WDD	Women Development Department

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgement		i
Acronyms		ii
Table of Contents		iii
Executive Summary		iv
1	Chapter 1: Introduction	1
	1.1 Background	1
	1.2 Women representation through Reserved Seats in the parliamentary history	2
	1.3 Methodology	2
2	Chapter 2	5
	2.1 Public policies for women political participation and legal framework for Gender Quality	5
	2.2 Legal frame work for women reserved seats and legal protection	6
3	Chapter 3	8
	3.1 Situation analysis	8
	3.2 Voters Turnout in General Elections 2002	9
	3.3 Voters Turnout in General Elections of 2008	10
	3.4 Women in public sector and representation in political structure	11
	3.5 Number of General and Reserved Seats in National and Provincial Assemblies	12
	3.6 General and Reserved Seats in National and Provincial Assemblies (2002-2007)	13
	3.7 Number of General and Reserved Seats in National and Provincial Assemblies (2008-2013)	13
	3.8 Women representation and party manifestoes	15
	3.9 Women contest on Party Tickets-Elections 2008	17
	3.10 Suggested modalities for women reserved seats by Inquiry Commission Report 1997	17
	I Rotating double-candidate constituencies	18
	II Enlarged single-member constituencies	18
	III Enlarged-multi-member constituencies	18
	IV Modalities for reserved seats for women in Senate	19
	V The State commitment to International Instruments and Agreements to promote role of women in decision making	21
	3.11 There are four major reforms proposed under Gender Reform Action Plan	21
	3.12 Projects relating to political education and empowerment	22
	3.12.1 Women Political Participation Program(W3Ps)	22
	VI Recommendations	25
	Annexure	
	Annex-A List of documents and material reviewed	28
	Annex-B Gender Reform Action Plan	29

## Executive Summary

1. This review was done with the purpose to assess the discourse on women's political empowerment and their level of participation in mainstream politics by analyzing the gender gaps in the Election Laws-General Elections 2007-08 and projects for women political empowerment run by the Ministry of Women Development (MoWD) and Gender Reforms Action Program (GRAP). For this purpose, political parties' mid-level leadership, workers, civil society activists and international organizations working in the same area were engaged. The manifestoes of political parties were reviewed to assess their agenda as per manifesto and its actual implementation.
2. The first chapter provides the background, methodology, tools utilized, scope of review, objectives of the project and review activities.
3. The second chapter deals with public policies for women political participation and legal framework for Gender Quality in the light of the Constitution. The marginalized role of women in mainstream politics has been discussed keeping in view the socio-cultural norms.
4. Reservation of 17% seats was provided through the Chief Executive's Order in 2002. This however, was much less than the 33 % stated in Strategic Objective G-2 in the plan. In addition, Ministry of Women Development's initiatives for improving women's decision-making within family and community, creating social awareness and a societal commitment to greatly improve women's participation in decisions at all levels and sharing of household responsibilities has been discussed in this portion.
5. The third chapter analyses the prevailing women political participation situation. It provides an overview of the disparity between men and women as registered voters including underlying reasons and women disfranchisement during different elections by inking agreements by the local Jirgas, religious parties and even major political parties.
6. The Election Commission's current procedure of polling and vote count has been analyzed to determine whether the policies were gender sensitive. Efforts have been made to determine representation of women in the commission. The sex disaggregated data of the elections compiled by the commission have also been reviewed.
7. The section further looks at women workers role and status in their political parties alongside problems women face after being elected as lawmakers in different legislatures.
8. A detailed study on women parliamentarians' performance in the 12<sup>th</sup> National Assembly revealed that women legislators played an active role as public representatives by taking up issues of national concern such as natural resources, import, export, foreign policy, un-employment, environment and tourism along with crucial women issues. Such notable and composed performance in the highest legislature of the country, thus, forced the political parties to elevate women parliamentarians to important elected positions. Nominations and subsequent election of Dr. Fehmida Mirza as Speaker of the National Assembly and Ms Shahla Raza as the Deputy Speaker of the Sindh Assembly are important cases in point.

9. Allocating women a 17 % quota on reserved seats was certainly an important development, but not without basic flaws. For example, the formula of reserved seats is based on the election results i.e. the most successful party in the election would get the highest number of seats, which made the women's reserved seats dependent on the winning and losing of male members of political parties in the general elections. The present system was also criticized for nepotism in granting tickets on reserved seats while ignoring committed women workers.

10. Through active participation in the legislative assemblies, women legislators, from Local Government to national and provincial legislatures, challenged the stereotypical perceptions regarding being there as merely for filling reserved seats. But due to indirect nomination system of election on reserved seats and without having their own geographical constituencies, ended up increasing disparities between women and men for equal status in decision-making. This in fact points to the need for structural changes in the present system of election on reserved seats for women.

11. The lower percentage of women as voters, have many reasons in a male-dominated political culture. Women as registered voters were never taken seriously by the state institutions, including political parties. The patriarchal tribal values and customary practices also discouraged women registration as voters considering politics as the domain of men.

12. The political power attributed to vote, in fact, lies in its claim and display – a political party winning majority of seats has the right to govern. Thus, in the case of sex disaggregated vote count – a separate vote count for men and women would show their vote potential. Despite setting separate polling stations for men and women and counting their votes separately at this stage, the final results however do not show separate vote count results. The only progress in terms of sex disaggregated data appeared in the data for General Elections 2008, but that too in terms of registered voters only. The voters turn-out was, however, not maintained even in 2008 election. Women voters have their own issues, different considerations to poll their votes and hence different choice of candidates. Unless their votes are reflected separately in the final vote count, the value of their votes could not be realized by the candidates and their respective political parties. Further, a close review of the reserved seat system would further reveal that the development funds for women Members National Assembly (MNA) on reserved seats are spent on the will of party leaders.

13. In general, all Political parties ignored their women workers, even those in leadership positions, while writing party manifestoes. Several civil society groups and organizations monitored 2008 elections while some other organizations reviewed the manifestoes of political parties with reference to their program and commitments on issue of women's empowerment. The review mainly focused on women's concerns. According to gender critique of manifestos of seven major political parties, there were no clear policies or plans spelled out for women's political empowerment. Manifestos of all political parties are ideal on paper but in reality are not adequately implemented in true spirit. In practice, women are never included in the committees while preparing manifestos. Women have also been always ignored in decision-making in a majority of party affairs.

14. Another important legislative development that has not been discussed or reviewed so far is the Political Parties Act 2002. The Local Government Ordinance 2000 led to changes in the original laws in both NWFP and Punjab. The Tribal Areas have no representation in the

NWFP Provincial Assembly except the National Assembly and Senate. Another factor that further hinders their full representation being that there is no quota of seats reserved for women therein.

15. Finally, the last part of this review deals with recommendations to develop or review strategies and designing suitable intervention for improving political participation of women such as, by encouraging women to vote in elections, counting of votes by gender, setting up of women polling stations at proximal locations, implementation of a separate code of conduct for the working of political parties women wings and selection of women candidates on open seats for contesting general elections seats providing options for equal opportunity for women who are active in politics, reservation of quota for women representation in FATA and Islamabad Capital Territory, punishment for hindering women from voting and contesting elections, women's share in jobs in Election Commission, their representation on parliamentary committees, in ministerial and advisory positions and greater role for women political workers in the parties.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background:

1. Women's political participation, their role as decision-makers and as voters or candidates has always been supported by a number of civil society organizations and women from political parties. The basis for demand for women's political participation has been a state commitment at the international level through CEDAW<sup>1</sup>, National Plan of Action and National Policy for Development and Empowerment of Women<sup>2</sup>. Gender mainstreaming was witnessed in the local government elections of 2000-2001, where a reservation of 33% seats created the space for women signifying a major breakthrough in the political history of Pakistan. The participation of women was respectable with approximately 40000 women taking part, including women from socially traditional and conservative districts of Pakistan. In June 2002, the 'Political Parties Act 1962 was replaced by 'Political Parties Order, 2002', with a new set of rules to regulate political parties. According to these rules, any political party whose leader was 'convicted' by any court of law was barred from contesting elections. On August 21<sup>st</sup>, 2002, the Legal Framework Order (LFO) was promulgated by the Chief Executive (General Pervez Musharaf) which, among other provisions, not only restored women's quota but increased it to 17% in all law making bodies of the country. Paired with general seats, women's representation in the 12th National Assembly came out to almost 20% as compared to 1.4% in the 11th National Assembly (1997-1999). According to the LFO's formula of 17% representation on reserved seats, 60 out of 342 seats were reserved for women in the National Assembly, 17 out of 100 in the Senate of Pakistan, 66 out of 137 in the Punjab, 29 out of 168 in Sindh, 22 out of 124 in NWFP and 11 out of 65 in Balochistan. The 17% quota was devised and implemented on the basis of 'success of political parties' or the overall success of political parties in the general elections i.e. the most successful party in the elections would get the highest number of allocated seats. On one hand, this made women's reserved seats dependent on the overall winning of male members of the party in the general elections. Moreover, it also failed to provide any benefit for indigenous and tribal women from reverie and mountainous ecologies and livelihoods.

2. The general elections on February 18, 2008 again provided opportunity to 233 out of 1170 national and provincial assemblies' women as legislators. Out of these 233, as many as 205 were elected on general seats, one on non-Muslim and 27 on reserved seats. There is a pressing demand for direct election as compared to the existing indirect elections as the method of reserved seats allocation is based on proportion of the total seats won by political parties. Women and human rights activists, including seasoned women politicians and workers, have strongly criticized the system. The women relatives of non-graduate politicians were given tickets to compensate for their inability to contest the polls.

3. The women legislators played a fairly active role as public representatives by taking up issues of national concern such as natural resources, import, export, foreign policy, unemployment, environment and tourism along with other crucial women's' issues. Their focus on such issues has greatly enhanced their acceptability and productivity within higher

---

<sup>1</sup> -Article 7 of CEDAW on women in political and public life.

<sup>2</sup> -Section 6 of the National Policy.

positions. Owing to such service a number of women have managed to get into higher positions such as Dr. Fehmida Mirza and Ms. Shahla Raza as Speaker of the National Assembly and the Deputy Speaker of the Sindh Assembly respectively.

4. Thus, through their performance, the women legislators, from local government, national and provincial legislatures, changed prevailing perceptions about themselves. However, owing to the indirect nomination system of election on reserved seats and lacking their own geographical constituencies, disparities between women and men for equal status have increased over time. There is a need for structural changes in the present system of election to the reserved seats for women. Another issue is that there are an insufficient number of women within decision- making bodies of nearly all major political parties. For instance, on the 53- member central executive committee of the PPP, there is only one female member, Ms. Faryal Talpur. Fauzia Wahab, the party information secretary, is an ex-officio member of the committee. There is not a single woman on 26- member executive committee of the PML-N. The only significant female member is Begum Tehmina Dultana, as one of the six vice-presidents of the party.

5. The increase in women’s representation may be compared with present number of women in national and provincial assemblies through history of different constitutions and 1946 India’s general elections as under:

### 1.2 Women representation through Reserved Seats in the parliamentary history

<i>Years</i>	<i>Reserved Seats for Women</i>
<b>1946</b>	09- Federal Assembly India
<b>1956</b>	10- National and Provincial Assembly (3%)
<b>1962</b>	06- National and 5 each Provincial Assembly (3% 4%)
<b>1970</b>	13- National and same number for Provincial Assemblies. (4%)
<b>1973</b>	10- National and 5% in Provincial Assemblies
<b>1984</b>	20-National and 5% in Provincial Assemblies (10%)
	Note: In elections 1988 the provision of reserved Seats has lapsed and as result no women reserved seats in 1990, 1993 and 1997 elected assemblies <sup>3</sup> .

### 1.3 Methodology:

6. The gender review of political framework for women Political Participation was formulated on the basis of project objectives .Socio-cultural context and existing legal framework and these aspects were under focus during information collection process.

#### Tool

- Structured Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were arranged with political parties’ workers, NGOs and International NGOs to gain an understanding of viewpoints and experiences. The following guidelines and checklist was prepared to conduct FGDs:

<sup>3</sup> -Legislative Watch –Vol.1:No.1(1995)

### **Political parties' workers;**

- i. Understanding or knowledge about party's manifestos.
- ii. Women as members of Central Executive Committee in each political party.
- iii. Process and criteria for women candidates contesting election on party ticket.
- iv. Recommendations for the change in the law, and enhancing political workers role in decision making with workers perspective.

### **NGOs and International NGOs;**

- i. Projects and plans to strengthen women's role in mainstream politics.
- ii. Experiences with women, communities and institutions
- iii. Best practices and challenges.
- iv. Recommendations

### **Interviewed Participants:**

- i. Zafer Iqbal Jhagra, Secretary General –PML-N
- ii. Taj-ud- din Khan, General Secretary-ANP
- iii. Shagufta Malik, Women Organizer ANP and Chairperson Standing Committee on Sports, Culture, Tourism, Museums, Archeology and Youth Affairs.
- iv. Fouzia Kasuri ,President Women Wing- PTI
- v. Zahid Malik, Convener, Islamabad

### **The issues discussed included;**

- i. Developing an understanding of Party's & Election manifestoes.
- ii. Women as members of Central Executive Committee in each political party.
- iii. Party view on 10% reservation of ticket allocation on general seats.
- iv. Any specific change, which they aim for in Political Party Act.

7. Researches and reviews were collected from organizations for literature review alongside available data from Government Departments.<sup>4</sup>The purpose of literature review was to give support to recommendations on the basis of data and ground realities relating to women political participation.

### **I- Scope of review**

8. The gender review of political framework for women political participation covers elections laws (General Election 2007-2008), state policies and political party's manifestos. The consultant teams were hired to complete their work in a period of six months.

---

<sup>4</sup> -List of documents –Annexure-A

## **II- Objectives of Project:**

9. Develop a Road Map for future Research Interventions in key sectors i.e. (i) Health, (ii) Education, (iii) Economy, (iv) Governance and (v) Agriculture.
  - i. Engendering Public Policy in the areas of (i) Health, (ii) Education and (iii) Political Parties Order 2002 through a gender lens.
  - ii. Gender Sensitization of the Leadership of Political Parties and public opinion through dialogues and advocacy/ media campaign.
  - iii. Legal inputs to NCSW in policy making and legislative process
  - iv. Establishment of a Resource Centre at NCSW for information exchange and communication on women-related issues as a support to policy-makers, academia, students, policy-makers and public at large

## **III- Review activities included:**

- i. Review People's Representation Act, 1976 and Election Commission Order, 2002 to assess punitive measures introduced for preventing women from voting.
- ii. Review procedures for separately counting the votes cast by men and women in general election by looking at Election Commission Order 2002 for codification of votes, different colored ballot papers to indicate gender of voter, information to political parties on codification of votes and counting of votes by gender.
- iii. Review change in the number of women's polling stations taking 2002 election as benchmark.
- iv. Review reserved seats in the National and Provincial Assemblies earmarked for women in 2008 election taking 2002 elections as benchmark.
- v. Review reserved seats quota for women in the National Assembly between 2002 and 2008 elections from FATA and federal capital territory.
- vi. Representation of women in Election Commission.
- vii. Representation of women in parliamentary committees, parliamentary committees chaired by a woman
- viii. Representation of women in ministerial and advisory capacity including minister for women's development, and as a speaker/deputy speaker.
- ix. Review political party reforms undertaken, if any, after 2002 elections in terms of: enhancement of participation of women as members of elected councils of political parties at federal and provincial levels; process and procedures for election of women's wings; and procedures for nominating women on reserved seats.
- x. Women's role in politics in terms of: Government-sponsored electronic and print media campaign on gender issues and women's participation in politics; communication strategy by MoWD and NCSW, if any; and political education program, if any
- xi. Prepare a comprehensive report covering the above mentioned policy and program areas.

## CHAPTER 2

### 2.1 Public policies for women political participation and legal framework for Gender Quality:

10. The Constitution time and again speaks of women's rights. Article 25 of the Constitution clearly states:

- i. All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law.
- ii. There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone.
- iii. Nothing in this Article shall prevent the state from making any special provision for the protection of women and children.

11. Although Constitution guarantees dignity, freedom and equality amongst citizens, its actual application has not as such been witnessed. The woman's marginalized role in mainstream politics is the result of inequality that exists in political process and the patriarchal negative perception about women as public representatives. The woman's right as equal citizen is always denied due to socio-cultural norms through promoting female segregation and even political participation at a very low level. Factors such as a low percentage of women possessing identity cards, the lack picture on identity cards or names in voters list in most areas of Pakistan, greatly hinder women's participation in the decision-making process. This issue may be remedied by the issuance of identity cards efficiently through setting up of separate counters for women or sending mobile vans in remote areas.

12. The convention on the Political Rights to Women, 1952, was adopted by Pakistan and concrete steps were undertaken to ensure women's right to vote, stand for all elected bodies, and hold all public offices on a par with men. Subsequently, the experts committee, consisting of representatives of MoWD, MoLJ & HR, Parliamentarians, NGOs and relevant experts suggested in National Plan of Action (NPA) further endorsed the action and proposed enhancement of the women seats in the elected legislatures. However, while the women representation was increased through Chief Executive's Order in 2002<sup>5</sup>. But still the allocated 17% seats reserved for women in the parliament conveyed in the order were significantly less than the original 33% promised in Strategic objective G.2<sup>6</sup> in the plan.

13. In response to their commitment, the Ministry of Women Development subsequently prepared National Plan of Action<sup>7</sup> taking CEDAW and the Beijing Platform of Action as broader framework in 1998 as per Para 297 of the NPA adopted by Pakistan. The actions were designed to focus on (a) improving women's decision-making within the family and community; (b) Creating social awareness, and a societal commitment to greatly improve women's participation in decisions at all levels and sharing of household responsibilities. In addition, measures aimed at achieving a 40 percent representation of women in all public sector institutions, and women's full participation in the political process must be adopted. To strengthen women political participation in political processes, a series of trainings and awareness campaigns were planned for ensure their effective participation.

---

<sup>5</sup> -The conduct of General Election Order, 2002.

<sup>6</sup> -Action#2, Strategic Objective G.2, NPA.

<sup>7</sup> -Women in Power and Decision Making, NPA.

## 2.2 Legal frame work for women reserved seats and legal protection.

<i>Existing Laws</i>	<i>Amendment suggested</i>
<p><b>The Conduct of General Elections Order,2002</b><i>(Chief executive order No.7 of 2002)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Sec.6, Number of reserved seats in the provincial assemblies.</b></li> </ul> <p>(d) the members to full fill seats reserved for women and non-Muslims allocated to a Province under clause(1) shall be elected through proportional representation system of political parties’ lists of candidates specified in Article 8F on the basis of total number of general seats won by each political party in the provincial Assembly:</p>	<p>(d) one-third of the existing constituencies for the national and provincial polls are double-candidate constituencies. These constituencies will elect one representative for the general seat and one woman representative from the reserved seat. These double-candidate constituencies will be rotated after each election to enable the country to get covered after three terms.</p> <p>(e) <b>5% reserved seats<sup>8</sup></b> in the provincial assembly for women from Tribal Areas.</p>
<p><b>The Representation of the People Act,1976</b><i>(Act No.LXXXV of 1976)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Sec.8,Polling Stations</b></li> </ul> <p>(4) A polling station shall be situated in a Government building for the constituency and, where no Government building is available for purpose, an improvised polling station shall be set up on a public property.....</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Sec.47A. party lists for reserved seats, etc.</b></li> </ul> <p>For the purpose of election to seat reserved for women and non-Muslims in the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies.....</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Sec.81Undue influence</b></li> </ul> <p>A person is guilty of undue influence...</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>82A.Caperturing of polling station and polling booth, etc.</b></li> </ul> <p>(c) Coerces intimidates or threatens</p>	<p>(4) A polling station shall be situated in a Government building for the constituency and appropriate for women, where no Government..</p> <p>(1)The political parties contesting election for such seats shall, within the period fixed by the Election Commission for submission of nomination papers, file separate list of 10% reservation for women on general seats.....</p> <p>New clause (g) Uses any influence of Jirga or agreement against women voting and representation as candidates.....</p>

<sup>8</sup> -Red are suggested amendments

<i>Existing Laws</i>	<i>Amendment suggested</i>
<p>directly any elector and prevents him from going to the polling station.....</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Sec.100 Disqualifications on account of certain offences...</b></li> </ul> <p>Where a person has been convicted for having exceeded the limit of election expenses.....</p>	<p>Coerces intimidates or threatens directly any elector especially women and prevents him/her from going to the polling station.....</p> <p>(3) Where a person has been part of any agreement against women voting and representation as candidate.....</p>

## CHAPTER 3

### 3.1 Situation Analysis:

14. Women account for more than half the population of the country but unfortunately, even today in most parts of the country they are under-registered as voters. A huge disparity between men and women still exists as registered voters. The situation is particularly bad in FATA and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP). At the time of 2002 election, there were 71.9 million registered voters, 38.8 million of which were men and 33.2 million were women.<sup>9</sup> The law clearly defines the capturing and illegal occupation of polling stations and polling both to prevent others from voting as a crime<sup>10</sup>. However in certain parts of the country women are still denied the right to cast their ballots with impunity. For example in March 2001 during the local government elections, thousands of women in over 13 out of the 56 union councils of Swabi were barred from casting votes after contesting candidates signed an agreement<sup>11</sup>. In NWFP, the local Jirga member, religious parties and even major political parties' members were part of agreement. Further, women in Dir, Kohistan, Batagram, and Mardan and from other parts of the country were not allowed to file nomination papers as candidates.

15. During the local government elections in 1950-60, two candidates, Sher Ali Khan and Atta Ullah Khan, had an agreement in Pai Khel tehsil of district Mianwali that no women would be allowed to cast her ballot. This agreement is still practiced today. The tehsil has a population of 30,000. There are 6000 women voters. The Election Commission of Pakistan has not taken any concrete action to date to address this illegal practice.

**Women as registered voters in general elections of 2002**

<i>Provinces/ICT</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>%age</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>%age</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Islamabad</i>	203900	(53.1%)	180170	(46.9%)	384070
<i>Punjab</i>	21874446	(53.0%)	19379412	(47.0%)	41253858
<i>Sindh</i>	8765729	(54.3%)	7375837	(45.7%)	16141566
<i>NWFP</i>	4971778	(55.7%)	3954030	(44.3%)	8925808
<i>FATA</i>	813863	(63.5%)	467842	(36.5%)	1281705
<i>Balochistan</i>	2124021	(54.1%)	1802822	(45.9%)	3926843
<i>Total</i>	38753737	(53.9%)	33160113	(46.1%)	71913850
<i>Total in millions</i>	(38.8)		(33.2)		(71.9)

<sup>9</sup> -General Election, 2002 Report. Election Commission of Pakistan.

<sup>10</sup> -Section 82.A,(b),Chapter VIII, Offence, Penalty and Procedure

<sup>11</sup> -Gross violation of Women's Electoral Rights-A case study of Dir and Swabi by Aurat Foundation.

16. The relatively lower percentage of women as voters is due to a number of reasons in a male-dominated political culture. Women as registered voters have never been taken seriously by the state institutions, including political parties. The patriarchal tribal values and customary practices also resist, prohibit and always discouraged women registration as voters considering politics as exclusive domain of men. In 2002, among approximately 72 million registered voters on the electoral rolls, approximately 39 million (53.86%) were men and approximately 33 million (46.14%) were women showing a difference of 5.5 (7.72%) between female and male voters.

17. A study on the 2008 election by the Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT) indicated a drastic reduction in the number of women voters in Pakistan, especially in FATA. According to the report, the number was reduced by approximately 45% in NWFP and compared to 3.92 million women voters in 2002, there were only 2.17 million in 2007. The internal displacement in FATA due to military operation following the '9/11 attacks' also showed a decline of 96% among the women voters. A host of factors e.g. security, recession and disappointment from political system also witnessed a decline in women voters at 41% in Sindh, 37% in Punjab and 19% in Islamabad Capital Territory. The report showed a reduction of women voters by 39% as compared to 18% of male voters. The women were 40% of total voters in 2002 it came down to 30% in 2008. The Election Commission data of the 2002 election fails to describe total registered voters and their turn-out in terms of women and men separately.

### 3.2 Voters Turnout in General Elections 2002<sup>12</sup>

<i>Provinces/ICT</i>	<i>Total No. of Registered Voters</i>	<i>Total Number of Votes Polled</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Islamabad</i>	3,84,070	1,96,719	51.28
<i>Punjab</i>	41,253,850	18,996,880	46.03
<i>Sindh</i>	16,141,566	61,794,16	38.17
<i>NWFP</i>	89,258,08	3,107,153	35.09
<i>FATA</i>	12,817,05	3,272,11	25.48
<i>Balochistan</i>	3,926,843	11,649,70	29.67
<i>Total</i>	71,913,850	29,972,353	41.68

18. The only progress in terms of sex disaggregated data appeared in the data for the 2008 election but that was also only in terms of registered voters. The voters turn-out, however, was not maintained in the 2008 election. Stamping 5 ballot papers at a time were considered a major constraint. It created confusion between voters, particularly women and a substantial number of votes were rendered invalid. Further, another limiting factor was that due to household responsibilities and socio-cultural constraints, women found it difficult to go out in the public domain to vote.

<sup>12</sup> -General Elections 2002 Report, Election Commission of Pakistan

### 3.3 Voters Turnout in General Elections of 2008<sup>13</sup>

<i>Provinces/ICT</i>	<i>No. of registered Voters</i>	<i>No. of men registered Voters</i>	<i>No. of women registered Voters</i>	<i>Total voter turn out</i>
<i>Islamabad</i>	4,82,801	2,61,697	2,21,104	3, 83,603 (51.28%)
<i>Punjab</i>	44,485,869	24,481,520	2,000,4376	20,931,539(46.52%)
<i>Sindh</i>	19,506,473	10,894,176	8,612,297	8,467,146 (45.52%)
<i>NWFP &amp; FATA</i>	12,071,538	7,310,176	4,761,362	3,380,358(34.07%)
<i>Balochistan</i>	4,363,610	2,358,971	2,004,639	13, 798, 08(31.62%)
<i>Total</i>	80,910,291	45,306,540	35,603,778	34,542,454(42.7%)

19. In fact, the Election Commission's current procedure of polling and vote count does not have any system of separate gender considerations except where there are separate polling stations for women. Even in the case of separate polling stations for women, in the final count, the votes of women voters are not shown separately. Thus, the final results of a constituency are displayed in terms of total votes received by a candidate. In view of the situation prevalent it is, therefore, strongly recommended that women's votes are counted and displayed separately in the final elections results.

20. As per the Election Commission of Pakistan rules, the returning officer is responsible to announce list of polling stations in each constituency. According to the law<sup>14</sup>, a polling station shall be situated in a government building and can not be set up on a private or any candidate's property. However, the current data on the Election Commission's website does not show the list of polling stations. However, as per record of the list of polling stations for the 2008 election, does display list for each constituency and details of polling booths for both men and women. In majority of cases, women had separate polling stations while in urban areas there were also some combined polling stations for men and women voters.

- **Seats reserved for women in national and provincial assemblies for women in the 2008 election and their comparison to the 2002 elections.**<sup>15</sup>

21. Although, after the 2002 elections women had substantial representation in legislature, however, only two women were included in the 27 member cabinet; one appointed as advisor to Prime Minister (on women development, social welfare and special education). The provinces too showed a similar scenario, in Sindh out of 17 ministers only one was a woman (population planning and women development) with Punjab showing a slightly better ratio where out of 41 ministers, 6 were women and one was appointed as advisor to Chief Minister. However, there were no female ministers in either NWFP or Balochistan.

<sup>13</sup> -General Election 2008 Report, Pakistan Coalition for Free, Fair and Democratic Elections

<sup>14</sup> -Section 8(4), The Representation of the People Act,1976

<sup>15</sup> -Chapter V-A, Election to Reserved Seats, The Representation of the People Act,1976

22. During 2002, for the first time in the history of the country 25 women were elected on general seats; 13 made it to the National Assembly; 6 to the Punjab Assembly; 4 to the Sindh Assembly; and one each to the NWFP and Balochistan assemblies.

23. Women's representation on reserved seats in the national and provincial assemblies may not be reviewed without discussing the technical aspect of reserved seats in the LFO, for instance indirect nomination system of election on reserved seats, without having their own geographical constituencies and women party workers experiences<sup>16</sup>;

- Political party leaders award tickets to own family women and genuine workers with long association with the parties are ignored.
- A few party workers have knowledge of their own party manifestos; most parties do not take women workers into confidence while drawing election manifestos. Majority of women in political positions take the initiative themselves, with a complete lack of external conducive factors. Party leaders do not discuss or share important issues with workers nor do they take their opinion. In very few parties such as PPP, PML-N and ANP women with a strong status are consulted on limited issues.
- Women parliamentarians are not treated as equal members of Parliament. Consultations revealed that female politicians are treated as inferior by most of their male colleagues. Their rights are not respected and their funds are mostly spent on the recommendations of male leaders of their parties. They do not possess adequate presence or say due to their indirect election on reserved seats.
- In the present set-up women parliamentarians without constituencies have less interaction with communities. They have little rapport even with their own party workers. According to some workers their sole focus is to ensure re-election in subsequent period.
- Women workers within political parties and women parliamentarians do not hold separate meetings to discuss their issues and chalk out joint strategies. Women councilors, however, were found to be more active on this front. However the frequency of the meetings being too less with non-defined agenda and lacked follow-up.
- Political parties generally discourage women from taking independent initiatives, even when they are in line with the party policies.

### **3.4 Women in public sector and representation in political structure**

24. In the 12<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (2002-2007), there were 74 women legislators, of which 14 were elected on general seats while 60 women came on reserved seats. In the 13<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (2008-2013), there are 76 women legislators of which 16 were elected against general seats. Thus the number of women on general seats rose from 3 in the 12<sup>th</sup> National Assembly to 16 in the 13<sup>th</sup> National Assembly.

25. In the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), the adult franchise was granted in 1997, there was some resistance from a few tribal religious groups while women voters were excited to have the right to vote. An 80-years-old woman, Misery Jan, was the first

---

<sup>16</sup> -Focus Group Discussion, Women Party Workers, 7 October-2009.

woman voter in Jamrud, Khyber Agency to get elected. In 2002, the tribal jirga resistance against women's participation in electoral process and security situation proved to be major obstacles against women's involvement in the electoral process.

26. The tribal jirgas from Landi Kotal, Jamrud, Bajaur and Mohmand signed agreements to prevent female candidates from filing nomination papers. They further threatened communities and male family members against sending women to cast their ballot. From tribal areas to settled districts such as Swabi, Mardan, Dir, Tank, Peshawar and in FR such as Darra Adamkhel there were many agreements against women's political participation in the electoral process. The families violating these agreements were to be fined from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 500,000. Due to weak implementation of electoral laws and infrastructure of election commission, the disfranchisement rate increased to 44.6% during 1997 and 46.14 % in 2002, when a large number of women voters could not exercise their right to vote.

### 3.5 Number of General and Reserved Seats in National and Provincial Assemblies (2008)

<i>Assemblies</i>	<i>General Seats</i>	<i>Seats Reserved for Women</i>	<i>Seats Reserved for Non-Muslims</i>	<i>Total Number of Seats</i>
<i>National Assembly</i>	272	60	10	342
<i>Senate</i>	66	17	17	100
<i>Punjab</i>	297	66	08	371
<i>Sindh</i>	130	29	09	168
<i>NWFP</i>	99	22	03	124
<i>Balochistan</i>	51	11	03	65
<i>Total</i>	915	205	50	1170

27. During 2002, 73 women made it to the Punjab assembly, of which 7 were elected on general seats, while in the 2008 elections the number of women legislators rose to 76 of which 10 were elected on general seats. In the 2002, 33 women were elected to the Sindh Assembly, which in 2008, came down to 30. Whilst the numbers of women elected on general seats in 2002 and 2008 declined from 4 to 1.

28. Similarly, in the NWFP Assembly, in addition to 22 women elected on reserved seats only 1 woman was elected on general seat during 2002 and none was successful on general seats in 2008 elections. In Balochistan Assembly, only 1 woman got elected to general seat in both the elections whereas the seats reserved for women were 11. Representation of women from FATA remained zero.

### 3.6 General and Reserved Seats in National and Provincial Assemblies (2002-2007)

<i>Assemblies</i>	<i>Women Legislators</i>	<i>Total Number of Legislators</i>	<i>Women Percentage of the Total</i>
<b>Overall</b>	232	1170	19.8%
<b>National Assembly</b>	73	342	21.3%
<b>Senate</b>	18	100	18.0 %
<b>Punjab</b>	73	371	19.7%
<b>Sindh</b>	33	168	19.6%
<b>NWFP</b>	23	124	18.5%
<b>FATA</b>	00	00	00
<b>Balochistan</b>	12	65	18.5%

### 3.7 Number of General and Reserved Seats in National and Provincial Assemblies (2008-2013)<sup>17</sup>

<i>Assemblies</i>	<i>Women Legislators</i>	<i>Total Number of Legislators</i>	<i>Women Percentage of the Total</i>
<b>Overall</b>	233	1170	19.9%
<b>National Assembly</b>	76	342	22.2%
<b>Senate</b>	17	100	17.0%
<b>Punjab</b>	76	371	20.5%
<b>Sindh</b>	30	168	17.8%
<b>NWFP</b>	22	124	17.7%
<b>FATA</b>	00	00	00 0%
<b>Balochistan</b>	12	65	18.5%

- **Representation of women in Election Commission.**

The Election Commission of Pakistan has only two women working on any position, one as joint secretary and other as a librarian on a clerical post. In Sindh two women

<sup>17</sup> -Women & Elections 2008, Legislative Watch, Issue No.23 Aurat Foundation.

are working as assistant election commissioners. In Balochistan there is one election officer. In NWFP there is one assistant director and there is none working in the Election Commission Office of Punjab. The Election Commission's insensitivity towards women voters is rooted, among other factors, to the lack of women representation in its administrative and management set-up. The Election Commission needs to be an equal opportunity organization and include women in its staff and its decision-making process to ensure subsequent involvement of women in the political process.

- **Representation of women in standing committees and parliamentary committees, as their chairpersons and secretaries**

Apart from ministries, all the legislatures of the country have other important bodies called standing committees which consist of members of the respective legislatures (National Assembly, Provincial Assemblies and the Senate) and are headed by a chairperson. Also, each ministry has parliamentary secretaries who are members of the respective legislatures.

29. The National Assembly currently has 54 standing committees. Only seven of them are headed by women: Dr Azra Fazal Pechuho, Defence; Fauzia Wahab Finance and Revenue; Dr Fahmida Mirza Finance Committee; Belun Hasnain for Information and Broadcasting; Begum Nasim Akhter Choudhry for Law and Justice; Rubina Saddat Qaim Khani Social Welfare and Special Education; and Bushra Gohar for Women Development. Out of total 26 Parliamentary Secretaries, five are women. Farhat Khan for Cabinet and Establishment; Dr Mehreen Razaque Bhutto for Health; Samina Mushtaq Pugganwala for Labour & Manpower; Raheela Balouch for Textile Industry; and Dr Zil-e-Huma for Women Development.

30. In Punjab out of 38 standing committees, only three are headed by women Zill-e-Huma for Commerce and Investment; Naghma Mushtaq Lang for Management and Professional Development; and Shabina Raiz Social Welfare, Women Development and Bait-ul-Maal. Out of 34 parliamentary secretaries, five are women Nargis Faiz Malik for Information and Technology; Saghina Islam for Women Development; and Azma Zahid Bukhari for Culture and Youth Affairs.

31. In Sindh, out of 30 standing committees, only three are headed by women: Farzana Hanif Transport; Heer Soho for Population Welfare, Social Welfare and Women Development. At the level of secretariat, only three women are there among 42 employees for the government of Sindh for secretarial job.

32. In the NWFP 32 standing committees, only three committees are headed by women: Shagufta Malik for Sports, Culture, Tourism, Museums and Archeology; Noor Sahar, Establishment Department; and Shazia Tehmas Khan for Population Welfare Department.

- **Representation of women in ministerial and advisory capacity including minister for women's development, and as a speaker/deputy speaker**

33. During 2008, 192 women contested for 176 national and provincial assembly seats. Of these, 72 women vied for 63 National Assembly constituencies and 113 candidates contested for 120 constituencies in all four provincial assemblies. The highest number of women candidates i.e. 49 contested for 46 constituencies of the National Assembly in Punjab; 15 in Sindh for 12 seats, in NWFP and Balochistan 3 women each on 2 seats; and in Islamabad 2. The election of Dr Fahmida Mirza as the first woman speaker of the National Assembly was a big accomplishment for women in Pakistan. Shahla Raza as Deputy Speaker of Sindh Assembly was another triumph in terms of women empowerment.

34. Initially there was only one federal minister in a 15-member cabinet i.e. Sherry Rehman as Minister for Information and Broadcasting with additional portfolio of the Ministry of Women's Development, Health and Culture. During her tenure she did not have enough time for issues relating to women or the ministry. Later on, Dr Firdous Ashiq Awan and Samina Khalid Ghurki were appointed as Federal Ministers for Population Welfare and Social Welfare and Special Education, respectively. Two women were appointed as ministers for state amongst a total of 18 ministers for state –Mehreen Anwar Raja for Parliamentary Affairs and Shagufta Jarmani for Religious Affairs.

35. Shanaz Wazir Ali and Hina Rabani Khar were appointed Special Assistants to the Prime Minister with the status of minister for state. In Punjab one woman, Ms Neelum Jabbar, was appointed Minister of Population Welfare among the Cabinet of 41 ministers. The Sindh government took the lead by appointing five women ministers Shazia Marri Information; Sassi Palijo Culture and Tourism; Tauqeer Fatima Women Development; Nargis N.D. Khan Social Welfare Department; and Nadya Gabol Information Technology.

36. The second leading province is Balochistan. Out of 44 ministers, five are women: Rubina Irfan Law and Parliamentary Affairs; Ghazala Gola Women's Development; Raheela Durrani Prosecution; Ruqayya Hashmi Inter-Provincial Coordination; Nasreen Rehman Khan Khetran; and Shama Parveen Information Technology and Provincial Coordination on NGOs Program (National/International) & Universities. Uzma Piriizai has been made advisor to the Chief Minister on Education, Health & Social Welfare.

37. The 44-member NWFP cabinet has only one woman minister Sitara Ayaz as Minister for Social Welfare and Women Development.

### **3.8 Women representation and party manifestoes**

38. Political party reformation in Pakistan is a problematically slow process since party leadership and people occupying senior positions therein do not encourage any structural reform process. The underlying reason is the personality-based leadership and undemocratic culture within political parties themselves. The role of women in decision-making within political parties, on the basis of their contribution, merely depends on family background. Undoubtedly, there have been a few exceptions. The reform process may be assessed through party manifestos. During 2008 elections, all political parties announced their election manifestos.

39. In 2008, several groups and civil society organizations monitored the political parties' manifestoes and their candidates. Aurat Foundation, a well-known NGO published a gender-based critique in January 2008<sup>18</sup>. The manifestos review covered seven political parties, focusing on women's concerns. According to the report, the parties had no clear policies or plans for women's political empowerment. Instead of adopting rights-based approach, the parties espoused the typical stereotyped approaches that didn't treat women as 'citizens with equal political rights and potentials'. The policies and practices of major political parties towards women, as per their manifestoes, are given below:

- The PML-N intends to restore the Constitution to its pre-1999 status with provisions of joint electorate, minorities and women reserved seats. Although they want to retain women reserved seats, there is no plan to increase the number of women in the decision-making within the party.
- The PML-Q in its women's empowerment agenda, raised issues of customary practices, employment, domestic violence, promotion of madressah schools and a system of speedy justice. They also promised to solve women's mobility problem through distributing bi-cycles for them. As far the reserved seats, it wants to maintain the same law and no material is available regarding women in its decision-making bodies.
- The PPP supports reserved seats for women, minorities and the under-privileged sections in proportion to percentage of votes polled by each contesting party. Their main focus is police reforms, women police stations, prison reforms and lady health visitors.
- The PPP - Sherpao offers plan for equal development opportunities for all citizens in accordance with teachings of religion and it also supports Qazi court. As such there is no plan for women in the decision-making role in the Parliament and within the party.
- The MQM's main focus is recruitment of women teachers at primary level, lady health visitors and nurses. The party has plans with regards to human rights in general but it is silent about the women rights.
- The JUI-F aspires for a women-only staff for women hospitals and "women are to be provided employment opportunities in their specific sectors as defined by Sharia".
- The ANP manifesto is most gender-sensitive as compared to other political parties. It is the only political party in Pakistan that clearly rejects the laws and policies that discriminate against women. It calls for repeal of any discriminatory laws that infringe equal rights of women and their participation in decision-making within the family, community and society. The party also supports 33% quota for women at all levels in political decision-making positions and promises technical and financial support to women in empowering them. It also favors direct election on women reserved seats.

---

<sup>18</sup> -A Gender-Based Critique of 2008 election manifestos of Key Political Parties, by Naheed Aziz

### 3.9 Women contest on Party Tickets-Elections 2008

<i>Constituencies</i>	<i>PPP</i>		<i>PML-N</i>		<i>PML-Q</i>		<i>MQM</i>		<i>Others</i>	
	NA----- PA		NA----- PA		NA----- PA		NA----- PA		NA----- PA	
<i>Punjab</i>	11	05	05	09	07	07	04 02		01 01	
<i>Sindh</i>	03	02	01	02	02	01	03 02		02 01	
<i>NWFP</i>	01	01	00	01	00	00	10 02		00 00	
<i>FATA</i>	00	00	00	00	00	00	00 00		00	<sup>19</sup> 0
<i>Balochistan</i>	00 00		00	00	00	00	00 00		00 00	
<i>ICT</i>	00	00	00	00	00	00	00 00		00 00	
<i>Total</i>	15	08	06	12	09	09	08 06		03 02	

40. There is no discussion regarding and or process available to review the Political Parties Act. The Local Government Ordinance 2000 has been changed, distorting the original law by the NWFP and Punjab governments. The old and new Local Government System has not included FATA as a part of the country. They have revived old concept of “Agency Council”; the system in which there are seven members and only one is woman. The token reservation was made on demand by the civil society and women NGOs. Tribal Areas have no representation in any provincial assembly. However, it has representation in the National Assembly and Senate but there is no quota for women.

### 3.10 Suggested modalities for women reserved seats by Inquiry Commission Report 1997.

41. Women are at a disadvantage as far as the fundamental right of political participation is concerned. There are a number of factors impeding their progress. Remedial steps are immediately required in order to overcome these obstacles.

---

<sup>19</sup> -No representation for FATA in Provincial Assembly

42. A true democracy will be in place only when equal participation of men and women in decision-making is ensured. It has been noticed that even the major decisions that affect women's lives are made by the decision making bodies where they are going unrepresented. It is the underlying reason behind marginalization of women caused by discriminatory laws. For effective representation of women in the legislative bodies, the electoral system should ensure women's 33 percent seats reservation in legislative bodies. They should be directly elected through joint electorate.

43. The Commission of Inquiry for Women<sup>20</sup> has suggested three possible modalities to fill the seats reserved for women. In each case there would be one-third additional seats for women in the legislative bodies. The main benefit of all three systems is that since women would contest against other women, the advantages and disadvantages for all of them would be the same.

#### **I- Rotating double-candidate constituencies:**

44. Under this possible system, one-third of the existing constituencies for the national and provincial polls can be declared double-candidate constituencies. These constituencies will elect one female representative for the general seat and one female representative from the reserved seat. These double-candidate constituencies would be rotated after each election to enable the country to get covered after three terms. Thus women would have normal-sized constituencies to deal with which would be easier to cater to. However, it may disturb the balance of power in the assemblies as one-third of the constituencies will have greater weightage against those two-third of the constituencies who have no representation in terms of special seats.

#### **II- Enlarged single-member constituencies:**

45. This method seeks to divide the entire country into enlarged constituencies for women's reserved seats. Each constituency will comprise of three normal-sized constituencies. The electorate would have a double vote—one for the general candidate from the normal constituency and one for the reserved seats from the enlarged constituency. It is considered the simplest of the modalities. However, a major drawback is that the larger constituency makes the female candidate more dependent on her party counterpart.

#### **III- Enlarged-multi-member constituencies:**

46. The third mode is to divide the country into even larger constituencies for women's reserved seats. Under this system, each constituency would comprise six or nine normal-sized constituencies. Every larger constituency would be a multi-member constituency. Voters from each enlarged constituency would elect two or three women to the reserved seats allocated to them, also voting for their candidates to the general seats from their respective constituencies. This system gives a wider choice to voters and paves the path for more women selected on merit and creating more opportunities for smaller parties and independent candidates. However, a more complicated system of division into larger constituencies and complex system of voting might create problems for the increasingly illiterate population.

---

<sup>20</sup> The Report published in August 1997

47. One major benefit of all three systems is that these would entail less cash spending for the women who do not own sufficient resources to contest elections and run electoral campaigns. Under these systems women will not contest against male candidates in the general elections and instead share resources with their party's general candidates from the same constituencies.

#### **IV- Modalities for reserved seats for women in Senate:**

48. The commission has suggested filling out of the 33 percent seats reserved for women in the Upper House of the Parliament through allocation of seats for women senators. It has sought five additional seats from each province; two of the eight seats reserved for Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA); one of the three seats from the federal capital; one or two out of the five seats for the technocrats.

#### **Issues:**

49. The <sup>21</sup>meetings held with senior party representatives shared their concerns on several issues relating to reforms and women's role in decision making;

- Manifestos of all political parties are theoretically appealing. However there is a lack of women in the committees while drawing up manifestos.
- Although women have played a major role but have always been ignored in decision-making processes. In major party affairs, only a few political parties give representation to women, those also women occupying important positions e.g. Pakistan People's Party and Awami National Party.
- The head of women wings are marginalized and under-resourced as compared to men office-holders although women wings play a critical role in mobilization of women's votes. Women from some political parties are still comfortable being a separate wing due to cultural constraints.
- Due to power dynamic in the legislature women on general seats prefer to move at high level or busy in transfers and appointments of constituencies' people.
- There is variation in women representation in the Central Executive Committee (CEC) in the parties. Less than 5% women are members of CEC.
- It was observed during the meeting with political parties' leaders that the political parties are not confident to support quota for general seats for women because of politics of money and power. Although there is a realization at some level that women are ignored in decision-making processes, particularly female political party workers. The current system of reserved seats is not suitable for genuine women political workers as nepotism ensures their exclusion from the political process.
- Equal status and agency in the parliament for women can be ensured through quota on general seats and direct elections and the formulation of a system based on merit.
- The use of development funds by women on reserved seats causes rift between elected parliamentarians and party preferences. Oftentimes the funds are used without even taking their signatures. There are cases where women parliamentarians show their concerns in party meetings as they are not allowed to spend funds and experience pressure from party to give money to other constituencies.

---

<sup>21</sup> -Meetings with mid level leadership with PML(N),ANP,PPPP,MQM and PTI

- A female MPA in the NWFP received a show-cause notice for raising her voice for utilizing developmental funds without her consent.
- The female parliamentarians are sharing the burden of male parliamentarians in terms of solving problem of their constituencies, particularly for women, but their weak position reduces their utility in their parties and parliament. Furthermore, inadequate attention is given to the issues raised by them.
- The fee and contribution to party funds varies across parties. Generally, women pay more for party ticket as compared to men. Two political parties were supportive enough to issue tickets to women without charging any fee. One party even paid for election campaign. The logic for charging high fee is to compensate men because after getting elected to the assemblies, women will come on reserved seats as on the basis of the total number of seats won by their party.
- There appears a lack of connection between women councilors and women Parliamentarians with jockeying for funds and status being major issues. The elected women on general seats and reserved seats also have less interaction. Due to power dynamic in the legislature they prefer to move at high level or be busy in transfers and appointments of their voters.
- The lack of capacity and knowledge of legislative process amongst women is a major issue. As per socio- cultural perceptions, there are higher expectations from female parliamentarians as they are not expected to deliver the same as their male counterparts. Despite all limitations women parliamentarian are trying hard to prove as best to justify their selections which always undermine their effective role.
- The system of proportional representation, experience of women's reserved seats in two assemblies (2002 and 2008), has proved the weak position women occupy in the parliament.
- The system of proportional representation is completely different from mainstream **direct** elections. It does not allow women to deal with electorate directly as they do not have a constituency.
- The women occupy the periphery in the political realm and have token representation in political parties. It impedes their active participation in decision making in parliament and even in their own political party. One senior male party member in the parliament said that reserved seats are dished out as charity calling them "Khairati seats"<sup>22</sup>.
- Absence of geographical constituencies and specific vote bank reduce their chances of contesting election on general seats, let alone winning.
- The present system does not ensure geographical coverage of the country and women come on the basis of nominations by the party bigwigs. Consequentially, almost 70% women do not interact with constituencies due to geographical constraints and disconnect from community.
- There is no seat reserved for women from FATA and Islamabad. There is no seat for FATA in the NWFP Assembly because parties from the tribal areas are not given representation in the provincial body.
- Taking decision on utilization of development funds is at the party discretion. The legislators on general seats lobby for matching funds.
- Women who come through nominations are dependent on men having control within party and they do not feel accountable to other party members.

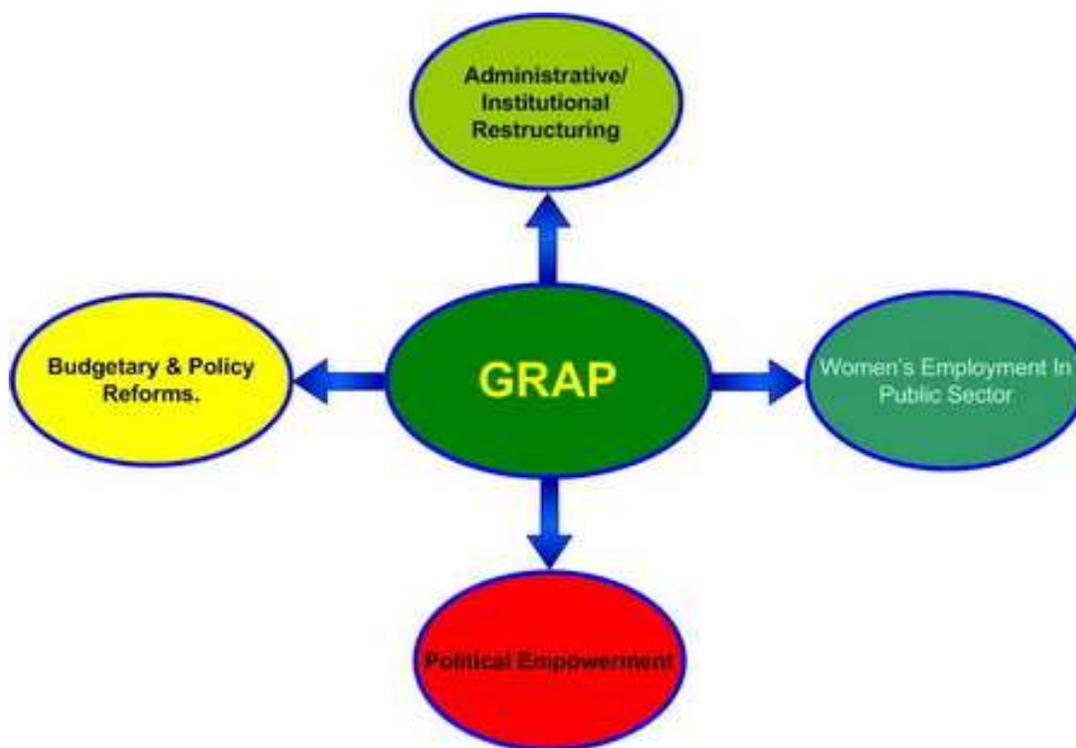
---

<sup>22</sup> -National Assembly Session, Nov 5, 2009.

**V- The State commitment to International Instruments and Agreements to promote role of women in decision making :**

50. Women's political participation has been on the agenda of various states as their international obligations and commitments through CEDAW, National Plan of Action and National Policy for Development & Empowerment of Women. Gender Reform Action Plan (GRAP) was launched with support of the Asian Development Bank in February 2000 at the request of the Government of Pakistan. There are five GRAPs, one for each province, and one for the National/Federal level. The purpose of program is to provide technical support for the framework of gender policies and to develop institutional reform proposals outlining interventions at the federal, provincial and district level, for a proactive approach to include gender perspectives in public sector policies, programmes and projects. The Gender Reform Programme was launched in August 2002.<sup>23</sup>

**3.11 There are four major reforms proposed under Gender Reform Action Plan:-**



51. The scope of GRAP includes essential reforms to deliver on the goal of gender equality, through the instruments of gender mainstreaming. These include:

- Administrative / institutional reforms and departmental restructuring to pave the way for gender-sensitive operations that ultimately lead to gender equality;
- Political reforms that facilitate effective participation of women in the political sphere;

---

<sup>23</sup> - official web-site, Ministry of Women Development

- Reforms in public sector recruitment process and working conditions to encourage women for employment in this sector;
- Reforms of key processes of policy formulation and budget preparation.
- Government supported electronic and print media campaign on gender and women's participation.

**The Project aims at achieving the following objectives:**

- To seek transformation of the provincial government into an organization that actively promotes gender equality;
- To ensure that all public sector operations in the province promote gender equity and reduce gender inequality;
- To make possible adequate representation of women as decision-makers in the provincial governments, both in the political and executive domain;
- To ensure that all provincial civil servants have an understanding of gender issues and are able to contribute positively towards the goal of gender mainstreaming.
- Women's political participation is the key programme under the four broader categories of reforms<sup>24</sup>.

**Women's political participation:**

1. Electoral reforms:
  - Improve women's voting
  - Enumerate the votes cast by men and women
  - Registering women voters
  - **Quota for women and induction of women in EC and others.**
2. Parliaments and local government:
  - Twenty percent representation of women agreeing to the bill and 20% women ministers and advisors.
  - **Speaker or deputy speaker should be a woman.**
3. Political party reforms:
  - Enhancement of women's wing in political parties.
  - Thirty –three percent quota for women in political party elected councils.
  - **Women's issues to be addressed in political party manifestos.**
4. Women's role in political reforms:

**3.12 Projects relating to political education and empowerment:**

**3.12.1 Women Political Participation Program (W3Ps)**

52. The Ministry of Women Development, started political education program by introducing a two years (2001-2004) plan to train women councilors. The program utilized the mentoring and nurturing approach; women teach and learn from each others.

---

<sup>24</sup> -Decentralization Support Program Pakistan

- A holistic and integrated capacity development program for women councilors.
- Adequate and reliable support networks and systems for women participating in political process strengthen.
- A resource pool of about 172 lead mentors/master trainers, 175 potential lead mentors (partially trained) and 110 identified potential lead mentors.
- A group of about 69 research analysts, whose main task was to evaluate, guide and participate in the training of lead mentors.
- A training kit (including a 6-module curriculum, pictorial guide, 74 training chart, monitoring/evaluation booklet, code of conduct, local government ordinances and guide book; other publications, audio visual material and case studies; and data relating to women councilors.

53. The first phase started with mentoring of selected group of women councilors as lead mentors and identification of team member by them at Tehsil and Union Council for trainings. Women councilors displayed great enthusiasm towards the trainings. In fact the group of 64 lead mentors was selected from that group, and they trained over 2000 women councilors in the country. In the second phase (2004-2007) 25725 women councilors and resource pool of about 500 lead mentors were trained. According to the project report<sup>25</sup>, numbers of women councilor's capacity built by WPS was 95% in Punjab, 93% in Sindh, 74% in NWFP and 77% in Balochistan.

#### **Women Master trainers and Lead trainers (Phase-1)**

<i>Province</i>	<i># of women district Councilors</i>	<i># of Master Trainers/Lead Mentors</i>
<i>Punjab</i>	1,195	37
<i>Sindh</i>	360	12
<i>NWFP</i>	278	10
<i>Balochistan</i>	152	05
<i>Total</i>	1,905	64

54. The program was introduced with US\$ 3 million grant from UNDP for first phase and US\$ 4.5 million for second phase. The payments were made to women councilors as TA/DA, creating problems for national and local NGOs that were experiencing budgetary constraints. The women councilors were struggling for honorarium (Rs.1000 to 2000) started receiving same amount per day for attending workshop. The program brings knowledge and financial benefit for them. The women demanded the same amount from NGOs and they were stuck with limited budget options.

#### **Women Political Schools**

55. The follow-up program of W3Ps was introduced in 2004 with changes and new name "Women Political School" to provide coordinated policy, technical and managerial support to the government in the areas of women's political participation, socio-economic

<sup>25</sup> -Gender Support Program by Rehana Hashmi, June 2007.

empowerment and institutional strengthening. In October 8, 2007 on closing of project, the key achievement claimed by government and their partners was over 50,000 women councillors and 12,000 nazims and naib-nazims.

56. There was some technical problem since the inception of the program. The actual plan was unique and well received by women councilors but unable to deliver desired quality trainings and results due to;

- The effectiveness of the program varies from province to province as the project was signed at different dates and also because of differing degrees of political commitments. The NWFP was most disadvantaged due to the reluctance shown by the MMA government.
- The curriculum was developed without conducting a training need assessment of the women councilors.
- The District Resource Centers (DRCs) were introduced on the premises of Nazim's office in the provincial capitals and a few big cities. It was a place for women councilors in nazims offices but without planned activities and resource material these centres were used as place for leisure.
- For lack of coordination among NGOs and government-run DRCs, not enough women councillors were turning to these centres e.g. in Multan three DRCs were set up by Aurat Foundation, local council and federal government in the same neighborhood. As a result most DRCs were underutilized and women councilors from remote areas unable to access the facility.
- Although the project of Women Political School was appreciated on different national and international forum as a unique initiative for women at the grassroots level but the evaluation report and experience of women councilors bring out very critical gaps in the project implementation.
- The program was split into two streams out of four streams. No work was done for gender political reforms, and finally lapsed.
- The District Resource Centres were unable to function for lack of coordination between federal and provincial governments and resources; while 50% GRAP intensive grant was distributed with defining accountability mechanisms. The women development departments were by-passed and funds were transferred directly to the account-2 ( nazism and district coordination officer joint) even without informing them.
- Only 10% district of Pakistan have some projects on grounds from gender development grant, those have no relevance with project goal and objectives e.g. women gym, stitching centers etc.
- The project failed to involve women at one platform for learning and raising women issues collectively, while in 2003 an international organization NDI<sup>26</sup> announced national action Plan with support of two major political parties PPP and PML –N and followed by ANP, PML-Q and MQM.
- The name of the NDI plan was “Win with Women Strengthen Political Parties in Pakistan” ensuring women's representation in meaningful leadership positions and in meaningful numbers in political parties. The plan comprises the experiences and advice of women political party leaders from around the world.

---

<sup>26</sup> -National Democratic Institute-Pakistan

- The other UNDP supported government-run project also mobilized women as Musliheen in 1050 Musalihat Anjuman in 20 districts of Pakistan. One of the objectives of the project is to reduce gender-based violence and ensuring women in decision-making.
- The capacity of federal GRAP office to run these centers was also a major issue e.g. inefficient staff, clarity on concept and training.

## **Women caucus**

57. The women parliamentarian's caucus was established in 2008 and included women from all political parties in National Assembly. The National Assembly Speaker is chairman of the caucus. The initiative of caucus was supported by Pakistan Legislative Strengthening Project funded by USAID.

- The aim is strengthening parliamentary institutions and process; improve capacity of the legislatures in their assemblies, law-making, oversight and accountability, and infrastructure and management activities.
- The caucus encourages women's participation in the political process and provides an important forum to the current women members of the assembly to collectively address their priority issues.
- It is too early to evaluate the performance of the caucus, because there are four provincial caucuses planned. The first provincial caucus was launched on February 23, 2009 in Lahore.
- There are some initiatives taken by the caucus have had an effective role for women influencing decision-making e.g. for initiating sexual harassment bill and gender equality, constitutional amendments and efforts to ensure legal equality.

## **VI-Recommendations**

### **Strategies and intervention to improve women political participation**

#### **1. Preventing women from voting**

58. The existing law declares the capturing of polling stations and polling agents that prevent voters from voting as crime, but it is silent on the use of various means (other than capturing polling stations) employed to achieve the same objectives i.e. preventing women from voting. It is therefore recommended that the existing law shall clearly consider the use of other means like harassment (life threat etc. on loud speaker announcements, wall chalking etc) and political agreements among political parties or contesting candidates to hinder their women voters from voting, as a crime.

59. Patriarchal values and customary practices still prohibit or ignore the registration of women as voters. It is, therefore, recommended that registration of at least 50% women as voters shall be made obligatory for elections in any constituency (the responsibility may be put on NADRA officials and major political parties).

- i. Emergency situations like earthquakes, floods and military operations significantly decrease the rate of women's vote e.g. the case of IDPs from Swat and Malakand. It is, therefore, recommended that the government shall be 'prepared and equipped in advance' to put in place effective alternate mechanism for women voters in such emergency situation.

- ii. Considering the workload of household women and lack of mobility, the government or the Election Commission of Pakistan shall arrange transport facility for women and elderly in rural areas.

## **2. Counting of votes by gender and their codification**

60. Women voters may have different incentives to cast their ballot and hence different choice of political parties and candidates which, however, go unnoticed as their votes are not counted and displayed separately in the final results. It is strongly recommended that the women's votes be counted and displayed separately in the final elections results.

## **3. Number of polling stations for women**

61. The existing law restricts the setting up of polling stations in government buildings. In rural areas, this condition results in setting up of polling stations too far for women to reach. It is, therefore, recommended that in such cases the government shall either relax the law or make arrangements for setting women polling stations close by.

## **4. Reserved seats for women**

- i. The Election Commission of Pakistan shall make it mandatory for each political party to prepare and implement a separate code and conduct for the working of their women wings and selection of women candidate in general elections. Such a system is supposed to promote equality of opportunity among active women in politics.
- ii. The political parties shall ensure that their women members are consulted with on party issues such as preparing and amending party manifestoes, issuing policy on important national issues, legislation to be done etc.
- iii. Women parliamentarians on reserved seats, or those lacking constituencies, are discriminated in terms of development funds. The government shall ensure that women parliamentarians get their due development funds.
- iv. The government shall evaluate and implement a system of direct elections on reserved seats to provide women parliamentarians more political legitimacy.

## **5. Reserved seats for women in FATA and Federal capital territory**

- i. The government shall insert clear guidelines in the electoral laws and political parties act against inking of any agreement by the jirga or punchayat to restrict women from voting and contesting elections.
- ii. The Election Commission shall ensure that women are free to vote, contest and campaign for the elections; if otherwise, the elections in such constituencies shall be postponed and results be declared null and void.
- iii. The government shall also provide reserved seats in FATA and Islamabad Capital Territory.

## **6. Representation of Women in Election Commission**

62. Despite having a huge administrative and management set up, the number of women employees is almost negligible. The government / Election Commission shall engage more women in human resource.

## **7. Representation of Women in Parliamentary Committees, ministerial and advisory positions held by women**

63. Women parliamentarians are less represented in the ministries, standing committees and parliamentary committees. Women's empowerment however cannot be achieved unless women are elevated to decision making bodies. It is therefore recommended that women shall be inducted in all parliamentary decision making bodies.

## **8. Women's role in politics**

With reference to women's political empowerment, the political parties are hesitant to support quota for general seats for women as their main focus is acquiring money and power which is more easily achievable in case of a male candidate. There is a realization at some level that women are ignored in the decision-making processes. Women political workers who are part of political struggle are generally ignored while giving tickets for contesting elections. The current system of reserved seats is not suitable for women political workers who work genuinely as only those women mostly get party tickets who enjoy contacts and links with the top party leadership. Following actions are recommended for effective political empowerment of women:

- There should be an increased analysis to look into issues such as women's voting; votes cast by men and women, registration of women as voters, quota for women and induction of women in EC and others. All these details would go a long way towards improving their role in mainstream politics.
- There should be 20 percent representation for the women in ministries and advisor slots.
- Women should have either speaker or deputy speaker slot in all legislatures.
- Women's wing in political parties should be strengthened
- There should be 33% quota for women in political parties elected committees.
- Women's issues need to be addressed in political party manifestos.

**List of documents and material reviewed**

- Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women.
- National policy on Women.
- National Plan of Action
- Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women, 1997.
- Election Laws-General Election, 2002-2008.
- Report of General Election, 2002.
- The Code of Conduct of General Election Order 2002.
- General Election 2008, report by Pakistan Coalition for Free, Fair and Democratic Elections.
- A Gender-Based Critique of 2008 Election Manifestos of Key Political Parties by Aurat Foundation.
- Gross Violation of Women’s Electoral Rights in Swabi, Mardan and Dir, NWFP by Aurat Foundation.2001
- Legislative Watch –Vol-1-No-1995 by Aurat Foundation.
- Legislative Watch-Women and Election 2008, by Aurat Foundation.
- “Election 2008” Report by, The Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT)’s
- Political and Legislative Participation of Women in Pakistan: Issue and Perspectives(UNDP)
- Performance of Women Parliamentarians in the 12<sup>th</sup> National Assembly(2002-2007)

## **Gender Reform Action Plan**

### **GOALS**

The goal of the GRAP is to bring about relevant alterations/ modifications in the structure and process of the government in that it promotes equity among men and women, and to enable it to deliver on the rights and entitlements of women. Gender mainstreaming will be the strategy to realize this goal.

#### **Gender mainstreaming would mean:**

- Women can participate as decision makers in the public sphere and their concerns can be addressed effectively;
- Policies are developed on the basis of gender analysis and sex-disaggregated data;
- Delivery of government services are equitable;

The Gender and Governance Reform Agenda (as it is expressed in GRAP) is about creating space for women within the existing systems, while trying to change these systems for the better. The analytical studies had reflected that women in Punjab exhibit poor social status as compared to men, the departments generally lack projects or programmes to bridge these gender gaps, and measures in this regard are inadequate and poorly designed. The GRAP will try to bring about changes through policy, institutional and budgetary reforms in the public sector, and enhanced participation of women in the political domain, thereby contributing to the emancipation and empowerment of women.

### **PRINCIPLES OF GRAP**

#### **I- Gender Mainstreaming is the key policy instrument to be followed**

‘Welfare’ and ‘WID’ approaches have failed to ameliorate the sufferings of Pakistani women because of their inherent weaknesses. The GRAP would further gender mainstreaming as the instrument of choice as it incorporates a GAD perspective. It aims at enabling the provincial government to look more comprehensively at the relationships between men and women in their access to and control over resources, decision-making, and benefits and rewards within a particular system.

#### **II- Gender Mainstreaming is an issue of good governance**

Gender Mainstreaming is not a women’s issue, it is an issue of good governance. It seeks to ensure that institutions, policies, and programmes respond to the needs of men and women on the basis of equity. It aims to enhance the accountability of government to achieve results for all citizens. It is about the fact that gender-aware policies and programmes would strengthen the social and economic life of the nation.

### **III- Gender equality has both political and institutional dimensions**

Gender equality would mean changing the status quo. It would mean changing policies and institutions so that they actively promote gender equality. Pursuit of this goal is to be led by political commitment for women empowerment, and to be supported by potent institutional arrangements that can bring about social transformation and redistribution of resources.

### **IV-Continued ownership and support**

Gender mainstreaming is a complex, multi-dimensional and long-term process. It is challenging and difficult. To be sustainable, it would need continued political leadership, pressure from the civil society, and support from the top management of the province.

### **V- Gender Accountability**

Promotion of gender equality within the public sector cannot be accomplished without effective structures for accountability and oversight. The role of NCSW, WDD and other provincial departments would have to be clearly defined in this regard. Institutional structures would have to be designed, systems and procedures defined to ensure that adequate attention to gender perspectives and the goal of gender equality in policies, projects and programmes is given.

The implementation of the GRAP would not involve major relocation of government personnel and resources at the very outset. If implemented with spirit and zeal, the reform package would usher in incremental, but perceptible, change in the working and budgetary allocations of government departments. While implementing the project, the district governments/ departments concerned would be sensitized to own the initiatives and sustain the activities after completion of gestation period. In this connection interactive dialogues will be held continuously involving all the stake-holders with the active support of print and electronic media.

For effective tracking, in case of each reform action initiated by the government, responsibility centers and indicators are given. The proposed interventions for Women Political Participation, Institutional Restructuring, Women's Employment in the Public Sector, and Fiscal and Policy Reforms, include provision of physical infrastructure, equipment, streamlining systems and procedures, improving information and communication channels and mechanisms, supporting training and development, etc.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> -GRAP Action Plan-Annexure

Action	Responsibility	Indicator
Ensuring representation of women councillors in Local Govt.	LG&RD NRB	Amendment in LGO and guideline
Ensuring representation of Women MPAs in parliamentary committees	Law &Parliamentary Affairs Deptt	Amendment in Law
Activation of NPA unit to support women elected representatives	WDD FD	Provision of resources and effective work force
Political parties position on gender	GRAP	Strategy plan, workshop report
Creating Awareness on Right to Franchise	GRAP	Radio and TV programmes
Creating a Lobby for Enhancing Women's Quotas	GRAP	Articles on Women's Quota, Seminars and workshop proceedings
Creating a Comprehensive Database on Women in Parliament	NPA GRAP	Databases
Strengthening Women's Caucus in Provincial Assembly	GRAP Secretary Assembly	Activities by Caucus
Capacity Building of women Parliamentarians	GRAP	Workshop reports, improved performance
Women Candidature	WDD	Strategy plan
Capacity Building of Political Parties	GRAP	Increased accountability towards gender integration

Action	Responsibility	Indicator
Implementing a Public Awareness Strategy	WDD GRAP	Revised curricula, TV serial, talk show, entries for debates and essays
Support Centers for Women at District Level	GRAP Distt Governments	Physical set-up, workshop reports, brochures, newsletters
Gender Support Units at District level	GRAP Distt Governments	Physical set-up, workshop reports, brochures, newsletters
Establishment of Directorate of Women Dev Staffing of DWD Job descriptions of D WD Amendment in Rules of Business of WDD	S&GAD S&GAD S&GAD, WDD WDD & S&GAD	Notification, Order, & Charge Assumption Reports Notification Notification Notification
Capacity Building of WDD	GRAP	Training Schedule End-of Training Reports
Capacity Building of line departments	GRAP	Training Schedule, Training Reports
Amendment in the Rules of Business of provincial departments	S&GAD Respective Deptts	Notification
Notification of TL-GMs (focal persons) Formation of GMUs	Deptt Concerned WDD	Office Order
Recruitment of Gender Specialists for GMUs	FD GRAP	Sanction of posts, Advertisement, Selection
Establishment of GMC	WDD	Notification
Formation of District GMC	District Govts WDD	Notification, Minutes of Meeting

Action	Responsibility	Indicator
Policy review for gender analysis	Line Departments	Report of TL-GM
Review of programmes of departments for gender sensitivity	Line departments	Report of TL-GM
Review of departmental projects	Line departments	Report of TL-GM
Women friendly infrastructure in provincial offices	DSP, WDD, Line departments	PC-1 & Project completion report
Strengthening the WDD	WDD, FD, P&D	Physical set-up, brochures, resource centre, publications, annual report, workshop report, participation in decision forums,
Strengthening Gender Mainstreaming Units	WDD Line Departments,	Physical set-up, brochures, annual report, reports on review of programmes/ projects,
Recruitment of Gender Specialist at District Level	FD GRAP	Sanction of posts, Advertisement, Contracts Physical set-up, brochures, annual report, workshop report,
Policy commitment by the Government to increase women employment adequately	WDD S&GAD	Policy Statement
Adequate employment for women in Executive, Technical and Professional Services	S&GAD Other Deptts	Notification, reservation of quota
Establishment of Career Development Centres	GRAP Education Deptt.	Physical setup, annual/ quarter report, seminars
Adequate women membership in PPSC	S&GAD	Amendment in Law

Action	Responsibility	Indicator
Adequate membership in each selection committee / board	S&GAD	Office order
Implementing procedure for sexual harassment	S&GAD WDD	Office Instructions / regulation
Modification in advertisements	S&GAD Concerned Deptts	Office Instructions, Press clippings
Mentoring scheme for gazetted officers	S&GAD	Office regulation Activity reports
Special Provisions for female employees for residential and conveyance facilities	S&GAD	Office regulations
Motivating Women towards Employment	GRAP	TV & Radio talk shows, seminars, walks and celebration of events, # of women participating in the programmes, increase in # of women applying for public sector jobs
Enabling Induction of Women	S&GAD WDD	Increase in % of women selected in interviews
Supporting Women in the Workplace	S&GAD, WDD	# of women that are retained in the workplace or who enter workplace as a result
Analytical Studies for Gender Sensitive Budgeting	GRAP	Study Reports
Gender Disaggregated beneficiary analysis	GRAP	Study Reports
Gender Disaggregated Time use analysis	GRAP	Study Reports

Action	Responsibility	Indicator
Gender Disaggregated Public Expenditure incidence analysis	GRAP	Study Reports
Gender Disaggregated Revenue incidence analysis	GRAP	Study Reports
Gender Aware medium term economic framework	GRAP	Study Reports
Presentation of Analytical Studies- Advocacy for Change	GRAP	Study Reports
Modification in BoS instruments	GRAP	Sample of instruments Survey reports
Modification in budget call letter, budget presentation	GRAP WDD FD	Budget Documents
Preparation of accompanying material for ABS	F.D Line departments	ABS
Creation of 'Women Development' grant and 'women specific' codes	FD, Auditor General	Notification, Amendment in Chart of Classification
Amendment in White Paper	FD	Amended Copy of White Paper
Pre-budget Seminar	FD, P&D, WDD	Report of Proceedings
Financial reporting	AG & F.D	Appropriation Accounts
Institution of Incentive and Special Purpose Grants	WDD & F.D.	Budget Documents
Support for Policy Review	WDD GMUs,	# of sector specific gender policies
Engendering the Planning Process	P&D WDD	Revision in the PCs and adoption

Action	Responsibility	Indicator
Gender Mainstreaming in Budgeting Process	P&D, Finance Deptt PFC	Related studies & pre-budget seminars  Increased gender sensitivity in budget making procedure  Engendered budget document
Integrating Gender in Existing Course Curricula	WDD	Gender studies Incorporation of findings of above into all courses and subjects
Strengthening Stand-alone Gender Modules	GRAP	Effective module, core team of public sector trainers
Enhancing Value of Gender Knowledge	WDD S&GAD	Gender related questions in PPSC exams, gender booklet
Development of Institute of Social Development and Gender (feasibility development)	GRAP WDD	Feasibility report
Women friendly building designs in public sector buildings	GRAP Line Departments C&W Department GSUs	Separate toilets/ rest areas, waiting rooms, day care centres etc.
Provision of Transport to facilitate women mobility	GRAP Transport Department	Availability of transportation to females